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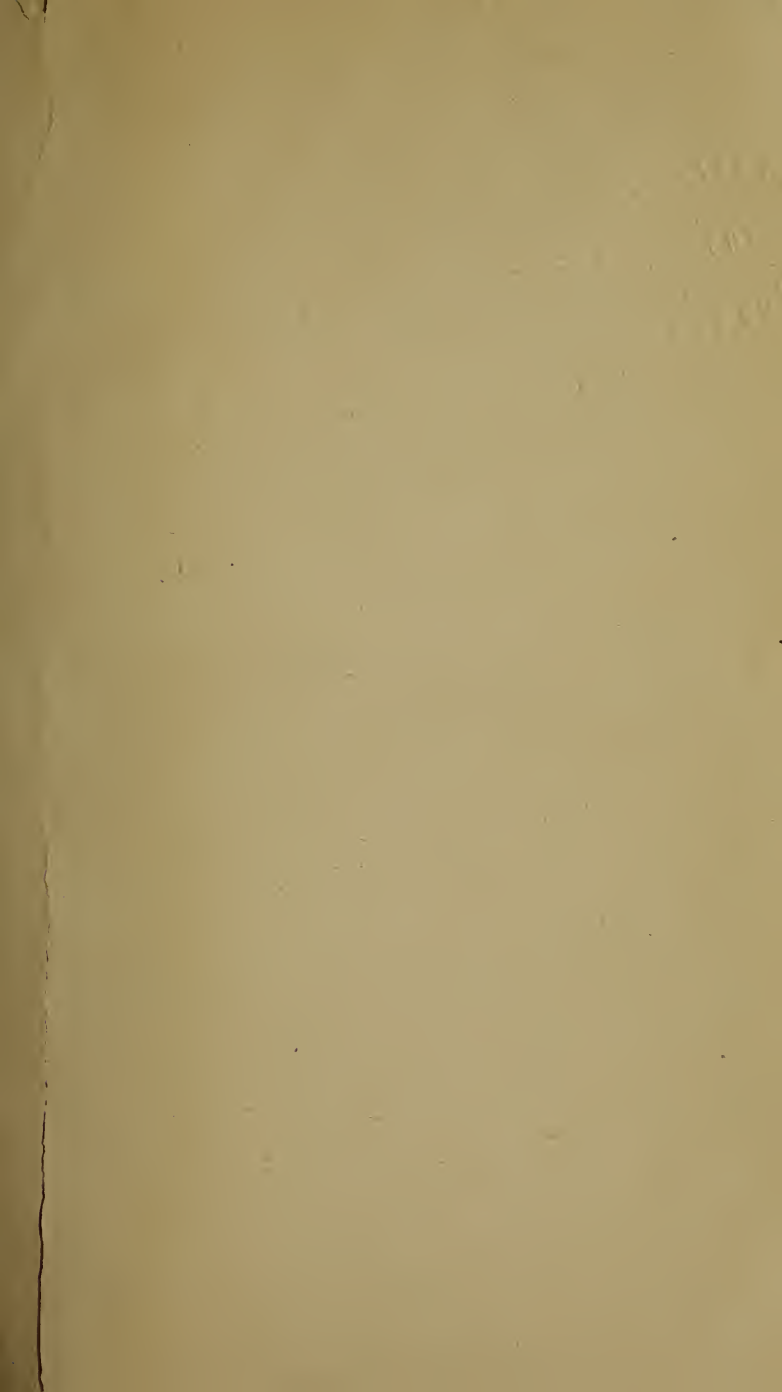
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ACCESSION No. 344, 187

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MEMORANDA.



REPORT  
OF THE  
**STATE CONVENTION**

HELD AT  
**THE CAPITOL**  
IN THE  
**CITY OF ALBANY,**

TO SELECT  
SUITABLE CANDIDATES  
FOR  
**PRESIDENT**

AND  
**VICE-PRESIDENT**

OF THE  
United States of America.

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NEW YORK :

Sickels, Printer to the General Republican Committee, 63 William.

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1828.



## STATE CONVENTION.

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At a Convention of Delegates from the several counties of the state of New York, pursuant to recommendations and elections of the friends of the present Administration of our national government, held at the Capital in the city of Albany on the 10th and 11th days of June 1828, for the purpose, among other things, of expressing their sentiments upon, and devising measures relative to, the approaching election of a President and Vice President of the United States ; one hundred and five delegates appeared and took their seats, and

ALEXANDER COFFIN, of the county of Columbia, was chosen President. and

PETER SHARPE, of the city of New-York, and

ROBERT S. ROSE, of the county of Seneca, were appointed Secretaries.

A Committee of Twelve, consisting of

Ambrose Spencer, of the county of Albany,

Gerritt Smith, of the county of Madison,

Edmund H. Pendleton, of the county of Dutchess,

Charles H. Carroll, of the county of Livingston,

Ellis Potter, of the city of New York,

Montgomery Livingston, of the county of Saratoga,

William Hildreth, of the county of Ontario,

Jacob Haight, of the county of Greene,

Charles H. Morell, of the county of Tomkins,

Nicoll Fosdick, of the county of St. Lawrence,

Thomas Clowes, of the county of Rensselaer, and

Thomas H. Rochester, of the county of Monroe.

Having been duly appointed for that purpose, prepared and reported the following Resolutions and Address ; which after having been read and considered, were UNANIMOUSLY adopted by the Convention, and ordered to be published.

## RESOLUTIONS.

Resolved, That the confidence of this Convention in the public and private worth and integrity of JOHN QUINCY ADAMS remains unimpaired ; that his administration of the government of the United States, since his accession to office, manifests the profound statesman, and an untiring zeal to promote the best interests of the nation ; that under his wise counsels and guidance, the national character has been sustained, and its prosperity advanced ; and that he richly merits our grateful acknowledgements, as a faithful and beneficent administrator of our public affairs.

Resolved, That the causeless hostility to his Administration, and the unceasing efforts to pervert, distort and discolour his character and conduct, emanate from factious and disorganizing principles, deserving the reprobation of every man who estimates the honor and character of his country, and who would cherish and support a wise and virtuous administration of the government.

Resolved, That there exists no just cause for excluding Mr. Adams from a re-election to the Presidency, contrary to the almost uninterrupted course of the Government ; and that such exclusion in favour of a candidate of far inferior qualifications, would evince a reckless disregard to our own interests, and to the prosperity, safety, and security, of the nation.

Resolved, That whatever may have been the military services of Gen. Andrew Jackson, the only opposing candidate for the Presidency, he is unfitted by his habits, his temper, and his want of civil acquirements for the exalted station of President of the United States ; and we should deplore his election as the greatest calamity which could befall our country.

Resolved, therefore ; That JOHN QUINCY ADAMS be nominated to the people of this state for re-election as President of the United States.

Resolved, That having great confidence in the talents, patriotism, and private character of RICHARD RUSH, and regarding him as the able and prominent advocate of the cardinal interests of our national policy, we recommend him to the people as a suitable person for the office of Vice President of the United States.



## ADDRESS.

The Convention will now present, under the form of an Address to their Constituents, some of their reasons for having recommended the re-election of Mr. Adams.

If intellectual powers of the highest grade, and cultivated with almost unexampled assiduity and success, contribute to fit a man for the first office in our nation, then, it must be admitted, that the choice of Mr. Adams, so far considered, was eminently proper; for Mr. Adams had shone too long and too brightly in public life, and the elegant and powerful productions of his pen were too universally admired, to leave the superiority of his mind at all questionable. If unblemished morals, no less than talents and learning should distinguish our President: If his example, as influential as his station is elevated, should be such as to rebuke vice and encourage virtue:—then, the sober, chaste, religious life of Mr. Adams, forms another, and, by no means, inconsiderable argument in favor of his election. And here, if we were writing the eulogy of Mr. Adams, we might expatiate on those simple, unostentatious, abstemious, and laborious habits, which, whilst they constitute him a pattern for all public men, do, at the same time, no little honor to his country, in their practical and flattering illustrations of the genius of her institutions. The vitious constitution of royal governments is no more apparent from their lazy, sensual, star-spangled monarchs than are the simplicity and excellence of republicanism from a President of the habits of Mr. Adams. If too, our President should be a statesman—and this seems to be indispensable, in view of even the ordinary duties of his great office; then, does the election of Mr. Adams answer well to this requirement also: for, besides his superior capacity for becoming a great statesman, few men have enjoyed his opportunities to educate themselves in this character. All who are aware of the inquiring and reflecting cast of Mr. Adams's mind, will agree, that in his thirty years of public service, he must have extended his knowledge of our national affairs to an unsurpassed degree, and that, during his residence at most of the Courts of Europe, his quick, sagacious, studious observations upon her social and political structures must have contributed largely to fill up the measure of a statesman's education.

The fact, that Mr. Adams had passed through a longer gradation of political honors, than any other man in the nation, was, in itself, no small evidence of his fitness to be pre-

sident: but this evidence is peculiarly magnified by looking at the sources, whence he received the most distinguished of these honors.

His first appointment, as Foreign Minister, he received from President Washington: and we have no less than Washington's testimony of his able performance of its duties. "I give it," said that discriminating man, in the year 1797, "as my decided opinion, that Mr. Adams is the most valuable public character we have abroad. and there remains no doubt on my mind, that he will prove himself the ablest of our diplomatic corps." It will be recollected that our Foreign Ministers at that period, were no less than Rufus King, Chief Justice Marshall, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, and Elbridge Gerry.

The subsequent reputation and services of Mr. Adams realized the bright promise of his youth.

The honors, with which the "Father of his country" invested him, were increased at the hands of the immortal Jefferson; and the estimation, in which he was held by Madison and Monroe, best appears from the pre-eminent stations which these venerable patriots assigned him throughout their administrations. Comment is unnecessary on the fact, that these great and good men all tokened their high esteem of Mr. Adams; and, that no one administration of our government has failed to seek the aid of his distinguished abilities. The bare fact goes very far to vindicate his present elevation, and to outweigh, in every candid mind, all the inventions of malice against his unsullied fame.

We have thus adverted to some of the evidences of Mr. Adams' fitness for his great trust. But for these evidences surely, or others of a similiar import to establish his character as an honest and an able statesman, we could not bring ourselves to recommend to you his re-election. It is not, however, on the ground of Mr. Adams' manifest and acknowledged fitness to be President, that we most desire his re-election. On this ground, there are other men, who might be presented to you for the honour with about as much propriety, as Mr. Adams:—for there are many others who, if they do not possess all the qualifications of Mr. Adams for this office, are yet competent to discharge its duties with credit to themselves and usefulness to the Republic.

Concluding this much, we owe it to you to state some of our strongest reasons for singling out Mr. Adams, and urging his re-election.

It is not among these reasons, that Mr. Adams is a northern

man. We disclaim all preference for him on this account. In seeking for a President of the U. States, we have the *whole* of the United States for the range of our selection ; and no sectional partialities should interfere with our choice of the most suitable man, whether he be found in the North, in the South, in the East or in the West. That, there is a community of peculiar interests amongst the Northern States is not to be denied, any more than that the hand of nature has classed the Southern States together under other interests. With men of a selfish, calculating policy, such interests easily overcome a controlling influence over the patriot, who loves "his country, and his whole country." The citizens of the United States compose one people, and they must become degenerate indeed, before local considerations can break up that unity into which they are drawn by the strong bands of the Federal Constitution—by the recollection of their fathers' and their own common sufferings—by the entertainment of the same glorious hopes—by ties, in short, as innumerable, as the precious interests and blessings of their common political state. It is in the spirit of the reasons, which make us emphatically one people, that we declare ourselves as ready to promote to the highest place in our government a suitable citizen of Louisiana or Georgia, as such an one in Pennsylvania or New-York ; and, it is in the same spirit, that we should consent to be furnished by Virginia with all our Presidents, provided she had an endless succession of Washingtons and Jeffersons.

Nor is it because we approbate the general policy of Mr. Adams's administration, and believe it to be consistent with an impartial and enlightened interpretation of the Federal Constitution, that we single him out for your votes. There are other men, under whose Presidency, we should expect, if not a similar administration of the government, one nevertheless not less intelligent nor just. That Mr. Adams construes the Constitution so favorably to the great cause of Internal Improvements and the equally important cause of American Manufactures, and that in composing his cabinet, he made choice of some of the most powerful advocates of these cardinal interests, are indeed matters of felicitation to us : but they afford no more ground for our selection of him than for our selection of any other distinguished statesman, whose views, in regard to these objects, are coincident with his own.

It is not, as we have said, the *personal* fitness of Mr. Adams, to be our President, great as it is, and perhaps unequal-



led, that makes it especially proper to re-elect him. We repeat, that, in this single view of the subject, some one of the distinguished statesman, who rival him in wisdom and integrity, might, about as well, be made our President. But, it is in the nature of circumstances, altogether foreign to his personal qualifications, that we find the great and conclusive arguments for his reception.

And in the first place, we owe it to the Federal Constitution to re-elect Mr. Adams. Party spirit has filled the land with clamor against the *right* the House of Representatives had to elect him. Party men, not excepting legislators in their official places, have gravely and argumentatively drawn this right in question. The grounds that are taken, in this loud denial of Mr. Adams's rightful election, are, to the last degree, dishonorable and dangerous to the constitution, inasmuch as they are calculated to strip the public mind of its accustomed and necessary respect for all the powers of that venerated instrument. This attack upon the Constitution has alarmed its enlightened friends: and they have wisely judged that they could offer no atonement to its derogated authority, which would be, at once, so appropriate and effectual, as the re-election of JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

We will briefly point out the disparagement and contempt of Constitutional power of which, in this instance, party spirit is guilty.

In forming the Federal Constitution, the small states wanted all the states to have equal power in the election of President—Rhode-Island or Delaware to be on a par with Virginia or Massachusetts. The larger states following their own counter interests, preferred to apportion the power in this case, amongst the different states, on the scale of their relative population. A compromise ensued; and the constitution allows the people to make a *single* attempt to elect that officer; and it devolves the election, in case of the failure of this attempt, upon the House of Representatives, in such manner as to equalize the power of all the states in the election. The House is confined in its choice, to the candidates, not exceeding three, who have received the highest number of electoral votes; and it is perfectly free, in the eye of the Constitution to make him President, who has received one hundred votes, or him who has received but ten votes. Will it be said, that the House must follow the expressions of the people, in their abortive trial to elect a President? Those, who say so, are justly chargeable, either with gross ignorance or wilful disregard of the spirit of the



Constitution. If it be true, that the House is bound to elect the candidate, who, according to the electoral vote, stands highest in popular favour, then where is the compromise between the small and the large states, in this case? Then where is the relief, which that compromise was to secure to the small states against the exclusive popular principle, on which the large states preferred to base the election? If this be true, what of their previous claims did the large states relinquish, in this compromise? If this compromise be thus emptied of all its meaning and force, then is not all discretion in their choice of President virtually taken away from the house of Representatives?—and is not their whole power, in this matter, reduced to the little office of declaring him President, who has the greatest number of electoral votes? For Illustration, we will suppose, that the candidate, receiving the one hundred votes, was supported, exclusively, by five or six of the largest states: and, that no other candidate received more than twenty votes: Now, we insist, that the representatives of the small states, so far from being bound to elect the favorite candidate of the large states, have beyond all controversy, in the constitutional compromise on this head, the power and the *right* conceded to them of opposing the choice and neglecting the popular expression of the large states, and of electing another of the candidates, who had not received a fifth as many of the electoral votes.

We are aware that certain politicians will seek to impart an odious aspect to our exposition of this subject; and will labor to have you ascribe our views to sentiments of hostility to the principles of democracy. It will be our sufficient answer to such disingenousness, that we are on the side of the Constitution;—and, that, hard as it is, for our great state to be reduced to an equality with the small state of Delaware, in the election of a President, yet as this is one of the requirements of the Constitution, so we must brook it. No can we, in any way, more strongly evince our republicanism than by an honest and fearless adherence to every part of the Constitution of our country:—and poor do we esteem that republicanism, which, to subserve the ends of party, is corrupt enough to stir up popular prejudice against the legitimate functions of that sacred instrument. It is this sort of republicanism, which has raised the clamours against the rightful choice of Mr. Adams. His re-election would not only redeem the Constitution from the disparagement of its authority by these clamours;—but, the state of New-York, if she should contribute to that re-election, would signify her

peculiarly generous attachment to the Constitution, inasmuch, as the disadvantages of the large states, in the election of President, press upon them each, proportionably to their respective population.

It must be manifest from what has been said, that provided Mr. Adams was confessedly, the least popular of the candidates before the House of Representatives, still, their election of him is borne out by the spirit, as well as by the letter of the Constitution. But we will take you further into the subject to show you, that the opponents of Mr. Adams are guilty of a twofold unfairness on this head. Their disrespect for the plain terms of the Constitution, in this case, is not their only offence :—We press them with the inquiry, whether their assumption of the fact that Mr. Adams went into the house backed by a less popular support than one of the other candidates is not altogether gratuitous? We think it can be made to appear so to every candid mind.

One hundred and thirty-one votes were necessary to an election. General Jackson received ninety-nine votes—Mr. Adams eight-four—Mr. Crawford forty-one—and Mr. Clay thirty-seven. All that this shows, in bearing on the point before us, is that in no other candidate was the first choice of so many of the electors, as General Jackson. We can make no inference from the vote, as it was, what it would have been, had the electors been limited in their choice to General Jackson and Mr. Adams. And, even, if we could ascertain this fact, yet, it would not answer our inquiry, which of them was most the man of the People. For this, we need to go back to the popular expressions on this subject; and the facts, we shall meet with there, are far from justifying the reiterated charge, that Mr. Adams was less the man of the People, at the last Presidential election, than General Jackson.

First—\*The popular vote in nine of the States, was stronger for Mr. Adams than for any other candidate; whilst, in eight only of the States was it stronger for Gen. Jackson than for any other candidate.

Second—In the popular vote of twelve of the States Adams stood ahead of Jackson; whilst it was in ten States only, that Jackson surpassed him, in the same kind of vote.

Third—A fact still more worthy of note is, that the electoral vote of every State was at least as favorable for Jack-

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\* The popular vote of Missouri is not taken into the account, because not known by us.

son, as its popular vote—and moreover, that, in three of the States, he carried the votes of the Electors, notwithstanding that in each of these States, the popular expression was for Adams over him.

Fourth—A fact, equally deserving of your heed, is that the electoral vote of no State was given for Adams in opposition to the expressed will of the people of the State.

Fifth—The aggregate of the popular votes given for Mr. Adams throughout the Union, very far exceeds that of the votes for Gen. Jackson.

Sixth—Add to these facts, that sixty-two of Jackson's ninety-nine votes were from Slave States, and that such States gave Mr. Adams but six votes :—Add, too, what, at least every Northern freeman must feel the force of, that eleven of these sixty-two votes were the electoral representation of slaves merely, and we ask, who will repeat, in the face of such testimony, that Mr. Adams was elected against the will of the People ?

We have thus presented to you one of the expedients employed by the opponents of the Administration to render it unpopular ; an expedient, we may safely say, dictated neither, by a love of truth nor by reverence for the Constitution.

It would have been more in order to have stated, previously to examining any one of the schemes for prejudicing the public mind against the Administration, that our strong desire for the re-election of Mr. Adams springs mainly from the nature of the means resorted to to prevent it, and from our sincere belief, that it vitally concerns our country to achieve such a conclusive triumph over these means, as the re-election of Mr. Adams would evidently be. We have dwelt sufficiently on the nature of one of these means ; and will now pass to another, that no less imperiously demands your discontenance and reprobation.

Whilst they render a great and meritorious service to their country, who expose the corruptions of her iniquitous and profligate rulers ; such, on the other hand, as succeed in detaching public favor from the upright administrators of her government, by misrepresenting and calumniating them—deserve to fall under the everlasting reproach of the country they so deeply injure. Of a Republican people, at least, it may be safely said, that they never realize benefits from their government in any greater proportion than they have confidence in that government ; for of their government, it is emphatically true, that it is strong or feeble, capable or in-



capable of rendering good, accordingly as it is or is not sustained by the public confidence. As you undermine that confidence, the government, which breathed it, languishes for its vital air. Destroy that confidence utterly,—and you have compassed the destruction of the valuable ends of the government. It now no longer answers its great design, in performing the office of a healthful and vigorous organ of the public will. It has fallen a victim to that will. The name and the form of the government may indeed survive for a time, and the mere name and lifeless form may protect its subjects from many of the evils of open anarchy: But the animating impulses of public confidence must be restored to it before it can again yield the great benefits, which civil government is capable of yielding,—for which it was instituted,—and on account of which it so justly ranks amongst the richest earthly blessings.

Such reflections naturally arise in view of the efforts that are made to destroy the confidence of the People of the U. States in the integrity of their President and Secretary of State; and such reflections establish the truth, that so far as these efforts are successful, they must render our government, under its present Administration, inefficient and unproductive of the great good it is capable of, when sustained by the public confidence. To say nothing, therefore, of the wrongs, which these malicious efforts do to Mr. Adams and Mr. Clay:—to say nothing of their sufferings under them.—for even the shield of conscious rectitude is not proof against all the stings of the slanderer,—yet, how great is the *public* offence in this case; and, to the extent they are accredited, how baneful to the best interests of the nation are these calumnious accusations of her Rulers!

Persuade this people, that Mr. Adams and Mr. Clay are corrupt, and what measure of the Administration will not fall under their suspicion and be partially if not totally defeated by it?—A public jealousy, far other than a wholesome vigilance to the interests of the Republic, will then closely pursue and hamper every step of the government; construing the most intelligent, pure and patriotic measures into schemes of selfishness. Indeed, it is already boasted, and that too on the floor of Congress, that the present Administrators of our government have become too odious to discharge their official duties; and that they are incapable of carrying on the government much longer against the general and glowing persuasion, that they acquired their power corruptly.—But, whilst we perceive no evidences of such a calamitous

state of things ; whilst the steady progress of the administration, and the general prosperity forbid the supposition, that it exists ;—let us ask, who, in case these evils, so unpatriotically exulted in, had really befallen our country, would be blameworthy and accountable for them ? would it be Mr. Adams and Mr. Clay, or their wicked slanderers ? Mr. Adams and Mr. Clay now stand fully acquitted of the charge of bargaining for their places. All the calumnies, that have been heaped upon these gentlemen in this matter—the whole range and variety of them,—from the lips and pen of Gen. Jackson himself down to the most scurrilous versions of them, with which the hireling presses of the Opposition still continue to teem, are now completely refuted and put down forever.—Would it be the fault of Mr. Adams and Mr. Clay, then, if these calumnies had destroyed public confidence in them so extensively, as to render them incapable of administering the Government ?—or would it not rather be the fault of those, who invented and propagated these calumnies ?—of those whose political hate, unparalleled, at least in the annals of our own country, has adopted the blasphemous motto that “The present administrators of our government must be put down, though they be pure as the angels, at the right hand of the throne of God ?”

Besides, that we should extend this paper to an unsuitable length by going into all the evidences of the falsity of the accusations against Mr. Adams and Mr. Clay, the public are so familiar with the many ample vindications of these gentlemen, that have been published, as to make such a labor, at our hands, totally unnecessary. We would have all our constituents examine the evidences in this matter, so as to assure themselves, that the accusers of Mr. Adams and Mr. Clay have not only, failed to substantiate their charges ;—that their charges not only remain unproven and utterly unsusceptible of proof, but that they are, contrary to the usual inability of slandered innocence to do so, actually disproved and sent back to lodge upon the heads of Gen. Jackson and his fellow calumniators.

Probably some of our constituents have not examined the documents in this case, and may never have the leisure or inclination to do so. To such we put the question, whether a candid view of the circumstances of the case does not preclude all reasonable suspicions of any collision between Mr. Adams and Mr. Clay ? The alternative presented to Mr. Clay, under the very feeble state of Mr. Crawford's health, was to vote for Mr. Adams or for General Jackson. If we

refer to Mr. Clay's uniform opinions of General Jackson, he could not certainly, as an honest man, have voted for him : if we refer to his free and public disclosures of these opinions, he must not only have been dishonest, but singularly unambitious of a reputation for consistency, to have voted for him. Even on the floor of Congress, Mr. Clay had not shrunk from the responsibility of expressing his opinions of General Jackson. There, in the ears of the nation, he had, years before, declared the execution of Arbuthnot and Ambrister, *murderous!* and there he published his abhorrence of the lawless tyrant who directed that execution. Indeed, General Jackson had for years refused to speak to Mr. Clay, so strong was his resentment towards him for his faithful and fearless censures of his lawless and barbarous conduct in the Seminole war. But Mr. Clay's calumniators, although constrained to acknowledge, that the opinions he had uniformly entertained of General Jackson, were very unfavorable, maintain still, that he should, notwithstanding these opinions, have voted for him. The sympathies of Kentucky with the western candidate, say they,—her deep interest in his election,—and, more than all, her expressed wishes for it,—made it the duty of Mr. Clay to vote for General Jackson. Here, say, they, were considerations, paramount in their nature to any other, that could properly influence his vote ;—and in these they insist, he should have merged all his sense of the utter disqualifications of the General for the place he aspired to ;—all his abhorrence of the General's public and private character. Our first reply to these claims of Mr. Clay's vote for General Jackson is, that we have no proper evidence that the state of Kentucky desired his election. The Legislature of that State did, indeed, express its preference of the General, as the Legislature of this state has also presumed to do ; the one as unauthorizedly as the other,—for, in neither instance were the members of these Legislatures elected for this purpose ; for a proceeding so utterly inconsistent with the purity and dignity of their office. In both instances did they prostitute the authority of their office to further a party scheme, which certainly had no legitimate connexion with the duties and objects of that office. In both instances, too, was this done in the spirit of usurpation ; the more flagrant, indeed, in the case of our own legislature, inasmuch, as the people of this state had so recently, proclaimed from the ballot boxes, that their legislature should no more have a part in the election of President. The members of our Legislature, in nominating General



Jackson, did not, indeed, violate the letter of any law ; but in attempting to forestall, by their official mandate, the spontaneousness of the popular choice ; in attempting to reduce the sovereign people to the mere countersigners of that mandate, they betrayed not only their contempt of the rights of the people, but their total disrespect for the spirit of the laws enacted to secure those rights.

But, to return from this digression to the subject before us: We ask, can any substantial evidence be adduced, that Kentucky was opposed to the vote Mr. Clay gave for Mr. Adams ? Such evidence did not appear, certainly, in the last congressional elections of that state, in which the aggregate of Administration votes exceeded the opposing number by several thousands. Nor does such evidence appear from the strong probability, that the votes of Kentucky, at her next election, will still more triumphantly vindicate her favorite son. Such evidence is not to be found in the present legislature of that state, which is decidedly in favor of the general Administration ; and which has, by a solemn act, acquitted Mr. Clay's vote for Mr. Adams, of all the blame imputed to it. Nor have we any such evidences of the sectional partialities of Kentucky, as to justify the suspicion, that she would make any sacrifices of principle, or betray any lack of national spirit for the sake of having a western President. Kentucky is among the patriotic states, that go for the *whole Union*. She has never raised the standard of rebellion when the policy of the nation has pressed upon her local interests. Harder still, and infinitely harder, may that policy press on her—and she will never echo to the miscreant cries in other states, that “it is time to count the value of the Union.” Her citizen soldiers, animated by the love of their *whole country*, have gone thousands of miles from their homes to defend the rights of that Country. They have marched to its distant extremities to shed their blood in testimony of their enlarged patriotism and attachment to the Republic. They would do so again, at the call of duty ; and even if they foreknew, that another ill-tempered commander would reward their bravery with the stigma of cowardice.

But were it possible to believe, that Kentucky could be swayed by the narrow-minded considerations imputed to her in this matter, yet, how unreasonable is the supposition that the expanded mind of Henry Clay could be subjected to them ? What in the character of this enlightened patriot authorizes,---What in it *permits* the supposition that such a bigoted attachment to his own section of the Union reigns in

him, as to secure his vote for the western candidate against the force of all honest considerations ; and to make it nothing short of bribery, that could induce his *unnatural* support of the Candidate, residing at the North? We had thought Mr. Clay one of the last men to suffer the *location* of the Candidate for the Presidency to influence his vote. We had thought, that, if there was any one man in the nation, more free than all others of local prejudices and sectional partialities, it was Henry Clay. Least of all were we prepared to believe that, he who is so remarkable, so proverbial for his sensitiveness, under every attack upon the interests or honor of his country ; who has stood by that country in peace and in war ; in her peril as in her prosperity ; and made her an everlasting debtor to his matchless eloquence ; that he who is the foremost advocate of that great system of internal improvements and home industry, which extends its beneficial regards, without partiality, to every portion of our common country ; least of all, we say, were we prepared to believe that a man of such diffusive patriotism would, in spite of all possible objections to the candidate, feel constrained to vote for him, because he lived in the same section of the Union with himself. Such narrow-mindedness—such meanness corresponds with the too common patriotism, which is bounded by its own sordid interests ; but it will never alloy the generous spirit of Henry Clay : It will never disgrace that universal and characteristic philanthropy—that holy zeal for the rights of man, which at one time is seen encompassing the struggling Colonists of the south, and bearing them on the tide of eloquence into favor with our national councils ; which, at another time, pleads the cause of suffering Greece—and which, at this moment, is animating the merciful efforts that are making to colonize our emancipated blacks on the coasts of Africa, and to kindle up there those fires of civil and religious liberty, which are soon to blaze over that benighted land. To say, that such a man in casting his vote for a President of the United States, would look merely at the location of the candidate, is to belie the elevated constitution of his mind, and the whole character of his life. No, Mr. Clay did not need a bribe to overcome his determination to support none but a western candidate for the Presidency ; for his mind is incapable of entertaining such a base determination. Still he was bribed to vote for Mr. Adams, repeat his calumniators ; and they point out the bribe in Mr. Adams' nomination of him to the office of Secretary of State. So far from the circumstances of the case permitting us to con-



strue this nomination into a bribe, we put it to candor, whether these circumstances, including, especially, the long subsisting mutual dislike of General Jackson and Mr. Clay, would not have made Mr. Clay's vote for General Jackson the ground of a far more colorable charge against his integrity than they make his vote for Mr. Adams to be?

But even on the supposition, that a bribe was necessary to induce Mr. Clay to withhold his suffrage from the western candidate, and applying to this case the pre-eminently libellous maxim, that "every man has his price," still, all will allow, that the bribe and the price, in this instance, must needs be great. Mr. Clay, at the time in question, filled as large a space in the public eye, and was as much the object of admiration as any man in America. He was then exerting his accustomed and unrivalled influence in our National Legislature.

Mr. Clay has never discovered any avidity for office—Under one Administration, he declined the Mission to Russia, and the Department of War; and under the succeeding administration, refused to accept the same Department, the Mission to England, or *his choice of any other foreign mission*. Judge then, fellow citizens, whether a place in the cabinet of Mr. Adams—whether any place in the gift of any or all of the powers, at the City of Washington, could equal the price at which Henry Clay would hold himself.

The triumph of these efforts to undermine the confidence of the people in the integrity of Mr. Adams and Mr. Clay would certainly constitute an alarming feature in the success of the opposition: and to prevent that triumph is one very important object to be gained by the re-election of Mr. Adams. The slanders that alienate public confidence from the Administrators of the National Government, when these Administrators are deserving of that confidence, do, as we have already said, a great injury to the country, inasmuch as, without that confidence, the government cannot be carried out into the fulness of its beneficial operations. But a more extended view of the effects of these slanders, exhibits dangers still more appalling. The individuals against whom they are directed, as they are among the great men of their country, so they form a portion of the most precious species of her property. It is a very grovelling and inadequate computation of the wealth and resources of our country, which does not extend beyond her acres, her dollars, her commerce and her manufactures. Her great men, to whom she

has given birth, and whose minds have been fashioned under her institutions, are worth them all. She is, in the highest sense, rich or poor, as she abounds, or comes short, in them. The master spirits, who direct her energies, and impress the grandeur of their own souls upon her; to whom, most of all, she is indebted for her prosperity at home, and for the honor she has abroad; these, however estimated by their cotemporary countrymen, will ever assume in the eyes of other nations, and on the page of history, the rank of her most valuable possessions. Of these the Genius of our Republic might well say, in the language of the Roman matron, pointing to her sons: "They are my jewels."

We cannot prize too highly; we cannot cherish too carefully; the distinguished servants of our country. If, in the memorable struggle of our fathers, when all eyes looked for deliverance to the wisdom and authority of our Washingtons and Franklins and Adams's these great men had fallen victims to slander, and lost the confidence of their countrymen, the hopes of freedom would have perished. Our country may be called to pass through as gloomy periods; through as thickly clustering dangers as any from which she has emerged. A time may come, when our armies shall melt away before the invader; when the enemy shall ride in triumph along our coasts; when all shall seem to be lost:—In the perils and despair of such a crisis, the memory of those immortal patriots, "whose spirits rule us from their urns," united to the efforts of the chosen few on whom their mantles shall have fallen, may yet rally our dispirited country, and redeem her from impending ruin.

The great men of any country are of incalculable value to her; not merely they, that live; for in the memory of her departed worthies also, she has a "strong tower." What, so much, as the great names that adorn her annals, has inspired Greece to assert her liberty? What, so much as her departed heroes, "bending from their elevated seats to witness this contest," and the spirit of those heroes poured into the hearts of her living children, cheers her onward through her unparalleled sufferings? Nothing attaches a people to their country so much, as the great names that shine along the track of her history; and nothing makes them so anxious to preserve the transmitted liberties and blessings of their country, as the holy character given to them by these names.

If such reflections are just, then they do infinite harm to their country, who seek to cheapen and destroy her great men in public opinion; then the traducers of such men as

John Quincy Adams and Henry Clay, are more to be dreaded than the pirate on our coasts or the hostile savage on our frontier. Let the slanderer succeed in convincing the American people, that the long admired patriotism of Mr. Adams and Mr. Clay; that the shining train of their public services is all resolvable into schemes of selfishness; and it would seem very easy to subject to the public skepticism the cherished worth of any of our eminent statesmen. Calumny would need to achieve but few more such victories to strip our national councils of the public confidence and our great men of their influence; to dishearten them, who are in the ways to eminence; and, in short, to make eminence itself and intellectual superiority almost synonymous with selfishness and corruption. When such a jealousy of our distinguished servants shall pervade the nation, they will be useless to her,—for this jealousy will render them incapable of serving her. But this jealousy will accomplish more. The desire of distinction will wither under it. Few, if any, will choose to encounter it: and the history of our country henceforward, will be as barren of great men, as hitherto it has been fruitful in them.

By all then, that is precious to our distinguished men in their fair fame; by all that is precious to the nation in that fame; by all the glorious hopes, that open on our beloved country; and which brighten or fade, as she cherishes or cheapens her eminent citizens: By such considerations do we pray, that these foul attacks on Mr. Adams and Mr. Clay may not prevail, but, that they may recoil with vindictive ruin on the hopes of the slanderers who make them. In such a result, how powerful a lesson would there be to deter profligate politicians from making havoc of the exalted worth, which stands in the way of their schemes! And how cheering an evidence would there be in it, that the discernment and virtuous sensibilities of the American people will sustain their faithful servants against all the machinations of calumniators!

In the most depraved and violent political parties, we have still looked for a little patriotism; a little of that inbred love of country, which, in the absence of all other restraining principles, would set limits to their selfish efforts for power. But we are constrained to say, and we say it in unaffected sorrow, that in the party arrayed against the Administration, there are no visible remains of this redeeming principle to soothe our alarms. This party suffers no restraints; and success has become so paramount, so exclu-



sive a consideration with it, that it hesitates at no sacrifices of the public good to promote it. Means are unscrupulously employed to secure this success, which fling into jeopardy and expose to speedy ruin, the most precious interests of the Republic; means, withal, that outrage and contemn those sentiments of virtue and piety, in which lay the only sure foundation, and from which are derived the most constant and efficient support of all free governments; and which, after our full experience and estimation of their temporal benefits, are worth more than all this world, to such as cherish them.

We confess, that we are speaking in strong language of the conduct of our opponents: but, do not the attempts to impeach the rightfulness of Mr. Adams's election, and the integrity of both Mr. Adams and Mr. Clay, in the matter of it, authorize the use of such language? We believe in our hearts, that they do: But, if there be any who think us guilty of exaggeration; we entreat such particularly to follow us through a brief examination of one other expedient, which is resorted to, to prostrate the Administration. If you shall look on this expedient with any thing like the measure of alarm and abhorrence we do, you will deprecate the overthrow of the Administration, on no account so much as for the Agency of such a measure in accomplishing it: and all the other evils of that calamitous event will not be as dreadful to you as the triumphs which would crown this expedient.

The opponents of the administration, despairing of success to their cause by any appeals it can make to the sober judgment of the people; and withal, distrusting the sufficiency of their cunning falsehoods to work this success, are seeking to associate and even to identify that unrighteous cause with the military glory of the nation; and are busily invoking to its aid the popular enthusiasm, which that spirit-stirring subject is so capable of exciting. It is with this object, and this only, that they have selected Andrew Jackson for the candidate against Mr. Adams. We fear not to submit it to the candor of all men, whether this nomination of General Jackson is susceptible of any other explanation than that we have here given it: whether it could have proceeded from any other motives than the single one we have here ascribed it to. We fear not to ask any of our constituents, whether it is for Andrew Jackson the Statesman, or Andrew Jackson the Soldier that they find their votes solicited; whether the trumpeters of the General's merits desire

dispassionate comparisons of the fitness of the two men for civil office, or whether they are not incessantly displaying their Hero to the passions and imagination, so as most effectually to swell the tide of popular admiration, on which the Victor of New Orleans is bearing down the unobtrusive and noiseless merits of Mr. Adams. "Our enemies themselves being judges," the nomination of General Jackson has not proceeded from any sense of his *fitness* to be President; for the leaders of the party, opposed to the Administration, before submitting to the necessity of taking him up, and whilst they were free to speak of him, as they ought, expressly classed his election amongst the greatest curses that could befall our country. We need not go into all the particulars, that would make up the completest proof of the truth of this assertion. A reference to the files of some of the newspapers, which are the prominent organs of this party, will sufficiently establish it. The newspapers of this class, with which the people of this state are most familiar, are the "Richmond Enquirer," "New York Evening Post," and "Albany Argus." We do not refer to these papers to expose the inconsistencies of their editors. That would be beneath the dignity of this convention. But, inasmuch as these papers are the channels through which the leaders of the opposition have elected to communicate with the public mind, they are certainly useful records of the remarkable changes experienced by these leaders. These mercenary papers have changed with their masters; and their columns now are as crowded with the praises of General Jackson, as, but four years ago, they were with the reproaches and denunciations of him. In how little favor the general stood with these papers, at that time, is manifest from such paragraphs as the following:

"We cannot consent," says the Richmond Enquirer, "to lend a hand towards the election of such a man as General Jackson. He is too little of a Statesman; too rash; too violent in his temper; his measures too much inclined to arbitrary government, to obtain the humble support of the editors of this paper. *We would deprecate his Election as a CURSE upon our Country.*"

"General Jackson," says the New York Evening Post, from the moment he was entrusted with command, has avowedly and systematically made his own will and pleasure the sole rule and guide of all his actions. He "has suspended the executive, legislative, and judicial functions with military sway. He has insulted the executive of the United

States ; spurned its authority ; disregarded and transcended its orders. He has usurped the high prerogative of peace and war, entrusted by all nations to the sovereign power of the state ; and by our Constitution, to Congress alone ! He has abrogated the known laws of nations, and promulgated a new code of his own ; conceived in madness or folly, and *written in blood !* He has, in fine, violated all laws, human and divine. The same paper, after stating that General Jackson “ Ordered the unhappy Ambrister to instant execution, without any sentence at all,” adds, “ In doing so, I assert he committed, in the eye of the law of his country, Murder with malice prepense.”

The columns of the Albany Argus sum up their objections to General Jackson in the conclusion that “ He stands, in the minds of the people of this state, at an *immeasurable distance* from the Executive Chair ;” that “ his *habits*, aside from his politics, are *quite too summary* for that.”

It is obvious, then, whatever may now be pretended to the contrary, that General Jackson has not been brought forward for the Presidency, on the score of his fitness for it. The charms of a successful Soldier are relied on to captivate our imaginations and to hide the want of that fitness : and his distinguished services to his country are to make their irresistible appeal to our gratitude for the highest reward we can confer on him. It is, in short, to recompense his part in the defence of New Orleans, that we are called on to make General Jackson President ; for it was on that occasion, that his character acquired all the splendor, which makes him so imposing a candidate for popular honors. No one, indeed, presumes to say, that General Jackson would ever have been thought of for President, but for the Victory of New Orleans. The glories of that victory compromise all his pretensions to the honor.

Such, then, is the candidate for President, supported by the Opposition : a man, who, confessedly, from the lips and presses of their own leaders, is utterly unqualified for the office, and altogether the most dangerous man that can be placed in it. Here, too, is the further expedient to overthrow the Administration to which we last invited your attention ; which deserves your unmeasured reprehension, and which, by all the love you bear your country, you must defeat.

To associate in the hand of a brilliant and elevated soldier who has never exhibited the qualifications of an eminent statesman, the highest civil power in the nation, with the still



greater power of his military glory, is certainly, to neglect and despise the verdict of experience and the voice of history. This union has accelerated the Ruin of every Republic, that has preceded us.—The public safety is so deeply interested in confining the ambitious soldier within the limits of his usefulness as to require us to make his profession and the utmost success in it altogether foreign to the ways and means of civil preferment. Least of all can we tolerate the idea, which is now so sedulously inculcated, that the Presidency of the nation is a suitable reward for distinguished military services; and that Gen. Jackson, for his part in the defence of New Orleans, richly merits it. We conjure you, fellow-citizens, do not so cheapen this honour. It is the greatest, that mortal hands, were ever permitted to bestow. It is too precious to weave in the garland of any soldier. Keep it for such virtuous statesmen and soldiers as you have hitherto adorned with it. When military merit has once bought it, it will have lost all its worth. It will then have fallen into the same process of degradation, which reduced the sovereignty of Imperial Rome to the mere game and plaything of her successful and ambitious Generals.

On this subject of filling your highest civil office with a military man, what language can we hold to you, that will at once be so instructive, and enforce itself with so high authority, as Thomas Jefferson's? The words of his political wisdom, to every genuine and intelligent Republican, "are like apples of gold in pictures of silver." This great apostle of republicanism, after the last presidential Election, addressing himself to several gentleman, including his intimate friend Governor Coles, said, that during a long public life, he had attentively watched the progress of events in the United States, with the particular view of satisfying his mind, that mankind were competent to self-government, to believe which his principles inclined him; and that during his whole political observation, the disposition of the American people to elect General Jackson President, was the single circumstance that had shaken his faith and made him fear that the American Republic was soon to follow the fate of all others, and to fall under military rule."

The great and boasted argument then for the election of General Jackson, founded on his splendid military achievements, gives way before the obvious conclusion, that his martial fame, so far from entitling him to the Presidency, would make him, in the absence of conspicuous civil qualifications, a peculiarly unsafe depository of its extensive pow-

ers. We surely do General Jackson no wrong in denying him such qualifications—for, in the first place, is he a scholar? Foolhardiness alone can pretend that he is, after all the irresistible evidences which the public have to the contrary. In the next place, has General Jackson ever been numbered amongst the statesmen of our country? Never. His warmest admirers, no more claim for him the character of a statesman, than they attempt to conceal the gross deficiencies of his education. And yet, it is said, that the General has merits for the Presidency which overbalance all the objections to him on the ground of his illiterateness. These merits lie wholly in his sword: and, with barbarian exultation, are we told, that, if he cannot write, he can at least *make his mark*. Thus does the successful sword of Gen. Jackson, as promptly as that of the haughty Brennus, put to silence and outweigh all objections to him.

And shall we, fellow citizens, elevate to the office which, more than any other in the whole world, needs to be filled by a statesman and a scholar, the man whose illiterateness removes him so far from the character of either? Oh, how much would this degrade our republic in the eyes of the world! How extensively would it react on the wide spread and growing opinion, that man is capable of self-government! How disparaging to the cause of learning, that Vandal bravery should thus succeed in usurping the honors peculiar and appropriate to polished intellect! How unhappy would be the influence of such a victory on the pacific policy of our country! what incentives would our youth gather from it for the acquisition of Martial glory! How powerfully would such an example invite ambition to enter the military pathway after the civil honors of our country! to abandon the toil of learning, the lucubrations of many years, by which these honors have hitherto been sought, to earn them summarily and gloriously on the battle field!

We pass to the moral character of General Jackson—in which we are to look for, and to require many of the most essential qualifications of a President. A new doctrine is coming into vogue, under the nomination of Gen. Jackson. It is, that the private character of a candidate for office is sacred from all investigation, and that, whatever may have been his crimes, so that they were not committed in the public service, they are not to hinder his promotion to office. Surely nothing short of connecting ourselves with the party supporting General Jackson, and the necessity we should then find ourselves under of upholding this abominable doc-



to it. Far be it from us to raise, in wantonness, the mantle which this doctrine so conveniently hangs over the private life of General Jackson. It is surely no gratification to us to expose the vices of a man for whose public service we entertain a strong and abiding gratitude; and thereby also to publish the weak moral sense of those of our countrymen, who can overlook these vices in their admiration of martial glory. Nevertheless, if there be any occasion for the necessary performance of this duty,—if the cause of virtue, and the great interests of our country require the discharge of it,—we must not shrink from it. And does not such an occasion now exist? Does not the nomination of General Jackson for the Presidency—his pretensions to an honor which the American people have never yet permitted the hands of an unprincipled vicious man to sully, create this occasion? And would it not be a gross dereliction of duty? Would it not be, at best, the forbearance of a spurious charity, to pass over the General's private character, and to decline the examination of it, under all the strong reasons that demand such an examination? Of this character we have carefully informed ourselves; and did the limits set to the length of this paper permit us, we would detail to you some of the vices, which make it so eminently disgusting and sickening to virtuous sensibility. The most prominent and horrible feature in that character is the General's revengeful spirit,—so easy of provocation; so frequently unappeasable, but by blood alone. We will detain you with an account of but one of the crimes that stain General Jackson's private life. We do not select this because it is the most flagrant in the long catalogue of them, for truly it is not; but because the proof of it is so clear, that his warmest partizans do not presume to controvert it; and because, too, it belongs to that class of General Jackson's offences, which peculiarly illustrates his bold contempt of all human and divine restraints, and the monstrousness of choosing such a man to be the chief conservator and administrator of our laws.

In the year 1813, General Jackson made an attempt on the life of Col. Benton, now a Senator of the United States. We prefer giving you Col. Benton's own account of it, both because his name is sufficient authority for the truth of it, and because not a particle of that account has been gainsayed, although it has been repeatedly published in every part of the union.

FRANKLIN, (Tenn.) September 10, 1813.

“ A difference which had been for some months brewing between General Jackson and myself, produced on Saturday the 4th inst. in the town of Nashville, the most outrageous affray ever witnessed in a civilized country. In communicating this affair to my friends and fellow citizens, I limit myself to the statement of a few leading facts, the truth of which I am ready to establish by judicial proofs.

“ 1. That myself and my brother Jesse Benton, arrived in Nashville on the morning of the affray, and knowing of Gen. Jackson's threats, went and took our lodgings in a different house from the one in which he stayed, on purpose to avoid him.

“ 2. That the General and some of his friends came to the house where we had put up, *commenced the attack by levelling a pistol at me*, when I had no weapon drawn, and advancing upon me at quick pace, without giving me time to draw one.

“ 3. That seeing this, my brother fired upon Gen. Jackson when he had got within eight or ten feet of me.

“ 4. That four other pistols were fired in quick succession; one by General Jackson at me; two by me at the general, and one by Col. Coffee at me. In the course of this firing, Gen. Jackson was brought to the ground but I received no hurt.

“ 5. That daggers were then drawn. Colonel Coffee and Mr. Alexander Donaldson made at me and gave me five slight wounds. Captain Hammond and Mr. Stukely Hays engaged my brother, who being still weak from the effect of a severe wound he had lately received in a duel, was not able to resist two men. They got him down, and while Capt. Hammond beat him on the head to make him lay still, Mr. Hays attempted to stab him and wounded him in both arms as he lay on his back, parrying his thrusts with his naked hands. From this situation, a generous hearted citizen of Nashville, Mr. Sumner, relieved him. Before he came to the ground my brother clapped a loaded pistol to the breast of Mr. Hays to blow him through, but it missed fire.

“ 6. My own and my brother's pistols carried two balls each; for it was our intention, if driven to arms, to have no child's play. The pistols fired at me were so near that the blaze of the muzzle of one of them burnt the sleeve of my coat, and the other aimed at my head, at a little more than an arm's length from it.

“ 7. Captain Carroll was to have taken part in the affray,

but was absent by the permission of General Jackson, as he has since proved by the General's certificate ; a certificate which reflects less honor, I know not whether upon the General or upon the Captain.

" 8. That this attack was made upon me in the house where the Judge of the District, Mr. Searcy, had his lodgings ! So little are the laws and its ministers respected ! Nor has the civil authority yet taken cognizance of this horrible outrage.

THOMAS HART BENTON,

Lieut. Col. 39th Infantry."

We leave this transaction to speak for itself. We leave it to you to conclude on the propriety of raising to the highest office in the nation the man, who, if he had committed them in your own state, or in any other state where the laws are enforced, would have been doomed to expiate them in a punishment certainly no less than imprisonment.

We will quit the private character of General Jackson to exhibit the entire correspondence of his official acts with the depraved moral tone of it ; and this we will do by a brief allusion to some of the facts with which the public is already familiar.

In the spring of 1814, the General led his army to subdue the Creek Indians. On the 27th of March he discovered about one thousand of them in their village in the Bend of Tallapoosie, with the squaws and children " running about the huts." In his letter the next day to General Pinckney, he gives the following account of his slaughter of them : " Determining to *exterminate* them, I detached Gen. Coffee with the mounted men and nearly the whole of the Indian force, early in the morning of yesterday, to cross the river about two miles below the encampment, and to surround the Bend in such a manner as that none of them should escape, by attempting to cross the river." The result he details as follows : Five hundred and fifty-seven were left dead on the peninsula, and a great number were killed by the horsemen in attempting to cross the river ; *it is believed that no more than ten had escaped.*" " We continued," he adds, " to destroy many of them who had concealed themselves under the banks of the river, until we were prevented by the night. *This morning we killed sixteen, which had been concealed.*"

What we have said and shown of General Jackson's private life proves that his vindictive temper can easily persuade him of the *necessity* of taking up with nothing less than



the lives of all his enemies. It is that temper, and not any necessity in the circumstances of the case, which led him to shock humanity in the instance before us, to violate the rules of warfare adopted by the civilized world, and to fix an indelible stain on the character of this christian nation. In his letter to General Pinckney he gives no more signs of regret at the horrid waste of life authorized by him, than though he was describing the victories of a wolf or bear hunt. And yet these wretched victims of his exterminating wrath, whom he butchered with all the delight betrayed in the exulting spirit of his letter, including impotent age, defenceless females, helpless infancy;—and the handful who survived the general massacre, but to be hunted down and murdered in cool blood the following day; all these were immortal beings like himself, having interests at stake as great and as precious as his own; moreover, they were *Indians*, and by a thousand considerations, having no less claims, surely, on this account to the forbearance and clemency of Americans.

The pamphlet, containing the official account of the trials and convictions, by a court martial, and corresponding sentences by General Jackson, of between one and two hundred of the Militiamen of Tennessee, has obtained a general circulation. Every freeman in the United States should be familiar with its contents, that he may know, that the crime for which this large number of his fellow citizens suffered, was their interpreting the laws of their country to require but three instead of the six months service demanded of them; a very small offence certainly, even had their construction of the laws been erroneous, to be visited with so severe a punishment! But does not a candid examination of these laws lead to the inevitable conclusion, that the militiamen interpreted them correctly, and that they were free to return to their homes, after a service of three months? The execution of six of these brave men, and the disgraceful punishment suffered by the others, (to the soldierly spirit of many of them, more trying, no doubt, than death itself,) furnish a striking example of the cheapness in which General Jackson holds the rights, and happiness, and lives of his countrymen. Let every freeman, when he has candidly examined this transaction, and particularly the merciless part of General Jackson in it, ask himself, whether it is desirable to have him made President of the United States, and thereby commander-in-chief of the militia of the Union. A case like the present one, makes a strong appeal to the characteristic tenderness and mercy of Americans. Where is the man, who

had he witnessed this execution of six of his countrymen—one of them a minister of Him who said, “Blessed are the merciful,” and another of them a favorite son of a soldier who served under Washington; but would have responded to the sentiment of one of the spectators of this scene, “that he would not have unjustly and unnecessarily signed their death warrant for all the wealth of all the Indies!”

But the tyrant is not to be seen in his full proportions, unless his power be absolute, and his circumstances allow him sufficient scope for the exercise of it. Such a power General Jackson assumed in New Orleans; and there, too, he could make abundant occasions for the use of it. The reign of terror in New Orleans began on the 16th of December, 1814. On that day went forth the decree, that the sovereignty of Louisiana was vested in Andrew Jackson; and that his arbitrary will was substituted for the legislative, executive, and judicial powers which constituted that sovereignty. He proclaimed “martial law;” and, as we have stated and shown it to be with offences against Andrew Jackson, so life alone could atone for the violation of its pettiest requisitions. He established a curfew; and the citizens who were found from their homes, after 9 o’clock, were metamorphosed by his decree into spies: they were to be condemned to death by a military court, from whose sentence there was no appeal, save to himself, who stood in the place of the annihilated laws; and to whose vampyre spirit all petitions to spare the shedding of blood would have indeed been hopeless; for, when has Gen. Jackson shown mercy?

He did not delay to disperse the members of the Legislature by an armed force, and with such a force, to take possession of their hall. He arrested the Governor; dragged him through the streets under military guard; and even threatened to hang him when he should next incur his displeasure. He imprisoned Louallier, one of the most respectable members of the legislature, for daring to call in question the propriety of his acts; especially his banishment of the French Consul and his countrymen, and that, too, long after the disappearance of the enemy. On the 5th day of March, and now, near two months after the retreat of the enemy, and two weeks after the news of peace, the counsel of the still imprisoned Louallier applied to Judge Hall for a writ of habeas corpus. He granted it, as the nature of his office compelled him to do. But, there was one portion of our country not yet blessed with returning peace. Tyranny still overshadowed Louisiana: There was still a hand

of oppression upon her, heavier by far than America ever felt in the severest periods of her colonial servitude. Jackson was still there in his omnipotence, notwithstanding the restoration of peace had shut out all excuses for protracting his reign. The monster, that had swallowed up the civil powers of the state, had not yet disgorged them. The spirit which boasted to Governor Claiborne, that whilst "martial law" continued, no man should be above him ;" was not the spirit to hasten the repeal of that law : Judge Hall now found that he was premature in resuming the functions of his office. For this recognition of the laws, and for the sin against Jackson, the "*crimen laesae majestatis*," involved in it, the Judge was dragged from his home by a party of soldiers, and confined in the barracks. Judge Lewis, who had so fought in defence of the city, as to be commended in the General orders, granted, on the application of the District Attorney, who had evinced his patriotism in a similar manner, a writ of habeas corpus, in behalf of Judge Hall. For this instance of their compliance with the laws, and compassion for their honorable fellow citizens, these unfortunate gentlemen were arrested as *Traitors*.

Did you need further illustrations of the tyranny of General Jackson at New Orleans, we might refer you to his abridgment of the freedom of the press, and his subjection of it to a military censorship. In this instance, as well as in his suspension, after the enemy had left our shores, of the writ of habeas corpus, which is the great security of the citizen against arbitrary power, he not only acted in contempt of all law : but actually transcended the powers of the Supreme Legislature of the land. Congress itself cannot shackle the press. Congress itself, when there is neither "rebellion nor invasion," cannot suspend the writ of habeas corpus.

That we have not misconstrued the tyrannical acts of General Jackson, at New Orleans, may be argued pretty strongly from the light in which they are viewed by the people of Louisiana. The brilliant services which he rendered them, and which alone are relied on to uphold his pretensions to the Presidency, cannot redeem him from the hatred of his tyranny, which still pervades that whole state : nor can efforts to win the vote of that state to the General, avail any thing. They will all prove as abortive, as did the pageantry got up the last winter at New Orleans, for that single purpose. The presence of General Jackson, amongst the Louisianians, will never fail, indeed, to revive their grateful sense of his services : but it will, as surely associate with



that sense the recollection of their deep injuries at his hands. The people of Louisiana cannot forget his inhuman treatment of their worthiest citizens ; his still more to be regretted treatment of their laws and government. If they have reasons to "love Cæsar much," yet, do they remember that they have reasons to "love Rome more."

There is no end to the illustrations of General Jackson's tyranny. His letter to Mr. Campbell, in which he threatens to burn up the Government Agent in the Agency house, breathes the spirit of the man, and shows that his unrestrained will is the only rule of his actions. The tyrant was conspicuous, when he directed his officers to receive no orders from the War Department, unless they came through himself : and, thus usurped, in time of peace, the absolute control of the armies that were under him. Nor do the annals of any country, under a government of laws, exhibit a more striking instance of lawless tyranny than General Jackson was guilty of in his invasion of Florida. He not only made war on that neutral country upon his own responsibility, and in contempt of the prerogative of Congress, but he did so, in opposition to the express orders of the Secretary of War. His reluctance to comply with the prompt measures of our government to restore the violated territory is very apparent from his letter to the Secretary of War, wherein he offers "to pledge his life upon defending the country from St. Mary's to the Barrataire, against all the machinations and attacks of the Holy Alliance, and combined Europe." How clearly does this language show the utter insensibility of the General to the obligations of justice and law upon the intercourse of nations ! How completely does it come up to the tyrant's maxim, that "might begets right !" And whence can we draw the reasonable hope, that General Jackson would not carry this same spirit into the Presidency, and seek to infuse it into the councils of the nation ? Then might our country cease to adjust her difficulties with other nations on the principle of international law. Our military President would be like to guide his decisions in such difficulties, much more by reference to his military forces, than to the pages of Vattel or Grotius. He would leave it to the pusillanimous patience of kings to make war the *last* resort, But with him, the sword should *begin*, as well as *end*, the argument.

The point of view, in which Madison was an exceptional President to General Jackson ;—his horrid objection to that venerable and beloved man, "that he could not look

with composure upon scenes of blood and carnage," ascertains with sufficient clearness, the General's sense of the qualifications and duties of a President. May the day be very distant before the spirit of the people of the United States will become so much the spirit of Pirates and Barbarians as to sanction such an objection to a President.

Before entering on the investigation of General Jackson's life, we showed, that, in the opinions, formerly entertained of him by the present leaders of his party, he is a lawless and cruel tyrant. Read these opinions, again, fellow citizens, and see whether the correctness of them is established by the General's life. We do not wish you to accord with the opinions of his shamelessly inconsistent advocates, that he is this lawless and cruel tyrant, unless viewed through the medium of his crimes, he presents himself distinctly to you in such a character. We are aware, that sophistry has employed her utmost ingenuity to strip his offences of their heinousness; and that military splendour "hides—a multitude of sins," as well from the admirers of General Jackson, as it did from the admirers of Bonaparte. On every hand, too, do we hear the partisans of the General invoking charity to spread her soft colorings over his misdeeds; and how powerfully does the gratitude of our hearts tempt us to look away from them, and to be silent about them! Yet, we ask you, can an impartial and candid examination of the offences of General Jackson, make any thing less of them than, but four years since, the leaders of his own party did? And we put the further and still more momentous question to you, whether a man, who is decided by you to have been guilty of such offences, shall be made President of the United States? Shall such a man be permitted to grasp that power which hitherto you have confided to virtue and learning alone? Surely, fellow citizens, no good can come of such a change: And whatever change in the Administration of our Government you may desire, it is not the one proposed to you by the advocates of General Jackson: it is "least of all, such change as they would bring" you.

We have said, that the nomination of General Jackson is a mere expedient employed to pull down the Administration, by those who thirst to possess its power: and, that it is inconsistent with the former declarations of his leading partisans, some of which we have cited, to suppose that it could have proceeded, in any degree, from a sense of his fitness to be President, or in any degree from feelings of kindness to General Jackson, that his character, so peculiarly vicious



and vulnerable, is compelled to pass that severe ordeal of public scrutiny, which every former candidate for the Presidency has been subject to, and which no future candidate for this office can escape from, until the people of the United States have ceased to feel the preciousness of their political institutions, and have become ripe for treason to the cause of liberty. Nor can it be to honor General Jackson that his partisans are seeking to raise him to an office, where the infirmities of his temper would be most conspicuous, and where his incompetence to civil employment would no less disgrace himself than endanger the Republic. We disclaim all ill will towards General Jackson. We would not pluck one leaf from his brilliant chaplet. We would "render unto Cæsar *all* the things that are Cæsar's." If our exhibitions of his character savor of ill will towards him, let it be remembered, that the relation in which General Jackson's nomination places him towards his country, required this painful duty of us; and that it is not we, who have discharged this patriotic and imperious duty, but they, who have encouraged him to assume such relation, that are responsible for all the unhappy consequences of it,—as well those to himself as those to his country. It would have gratified some of the sincerest wishes of our hearts to have had General Jackson spend the evening of his life in peace; to have had all his virtues and not one of his faults recorded on the page of history; to have had him live forever in the remembrance of his glorious benefactions to his country. But these wishes are disappointed. General Jackson has listened to evil counsels, and sacrificed his reputation. Cæsar, in the service of the Roman Republic; Napoleon, in the service of the French Republic; acquired claims to everlasting gratitude—to immortal honors: but, when it was no longer their countries, but themselves they served; when their patriotism had degenerated into selfishness, and their ambition had prostituted the very fame they had acquired in the service of their countries into an engine for accomplishing the usurpation of their countries liberties, they forfeited these claims and fell into infamy. General Jackson, by a similar process, is bringing a similar fate upon himself. Having served his country gloriously, his ambition, like theirs, aspires to honors, which do not belong to him, and which his country could not yield to him without hazarding her all. Like them too, he relies for these honors on the frenzied devotion of the popular mind to military splendor. And, if he would not, like them, resort to the sword to make sure of these honors, yet

the weapons of hypocrisy and calumny, which he so freely employs to effectuate his object—his electioneering calumniations of our most estimable and honored citizens, and his Cromwell affectations of holy purity, are scarcely less reproachful and less fatal to himself, if they be less dangerous to his country.

Fellow Citizens, our reasons for asking you to contribute to the re-election of Mr. Adams are now before you. Sufficient, as they must be, to all, who are open to conviction, we are yet aware that there is a portion of you with whom they will avail nothing. Enough has already transpired to teach us, that they, who have brought forward the name of Andrew Jackson, did not reckon extravagantly on the charms of that name: nor did they fail to foresee, that the quiet, plain and unimposing life of Mr. Adams was but poorly suited to oppose the Hero of New Orleans, in minds susceptible of the fascinations of military glory. Those fascinations have seized on thousands of the Electors of our state, and to flatter ourselves that they can be easily or universally dispelled, would be presuming too far against our own experience, and the instructions of history.

But the victims of this military frenzy are not the only portion of our Electors to whom we address our arguments in vain. We have, in this state, a still more hopeless class of voters—we mean those, whose suffrages are swayed by the force of obsolete party names. The politicians, who so dexterously contrive and apply this force, as to reduce by it many of the freemen our state to the most disgraceful bondage, are *a well known few*. Their system of operation is despotic to the last degree; for it tolerates no freedom of thought—no independence of action. They style themselves the “republican party.” To comply with the edicts of this little band is to merit the name of a “Republican.” To dare to resist them is to be registered a “Federalist.” And this distinction of names they cause to be powerfully felt throughout the state, by making the popular one a passport to political favors, and by refusing to perceive any fitness for office under the odiousness of the other.

They attempt to drive the people of this state into the support of General Jackson by promising the appellation and favor of “a Republican,” to him who will vote for the General, and by denouncing the stigma and woes of “Federalism” against the man who ventures independence enough to oppose him. No matter whether the voter has but just arrived at manhood—has never before heard of the name of

Federalist, and is ignorant, that there ever existed a "Federal party;—still, if he is unable to overcome the revoltings of his conscience at the support of General Jackson, he must be branded with the name of that defeated, extinct, and consequently unpopular party. No matter, if he have lived fourscore years; had fought to achieve the independence of his country, and had served in the ranks of "the Republican party," from its beginnings to its final triumphs; yet if he refuse to vote for General Jackson, his gray hairs and his patriotic services cannot protect him from this reproachful epithet.

The inconsistencies of this arbitrary system are as amusing, as they are shameless. For instance, the same Andrew Jackson, whose support it now makes the "exclusive" test of "Republicanism," has been a "Federalist" under it. A reference to the files of the prominent Jacksonian newspapers in our State shows, that the system has required this stigma to be cast on him also. Indeed, a little observation will discover, that as often, as periods of five or six years, this arbitrary system will transform nearly all the old "Republicans" of the State into Federalists and nearly all the old Federalists into Republicans. The Albany Argus is among the newspapers here referred to, and has such paragraphs in its columns as the following:

"The fact is clear that Mr. Jackson has not a single feeling in common with the Republican party. The reverse of that; he desires and makes a merit of desiring the total extinction of it. It is an idle thing in this state, however it may be in others, to strive even for a moderate support of Mr. Jackson. He is wholly out of the question, so far as the votes of New York are concerned in it. Independently of the disclosures of his political opinions, he could not be the "Republican" candidate.

The course adopted by Mr. Jackson is food and raiment for the federalists and the no-party men. It is pleasant to all who strive for the destruction of the democratic party. They will every where applaud it as they have preached it; and will magnify the author of doctrines, which are so well intended for their service.

They profess to be "republicans," and yet they support a man (General Jackson,) who is known to have been always a "federalist." They profess to be "friends of the people," and yet, in Tennessee, as in New York, they have always resisted the equal and just rights of the people, and the extension of their privileges, which are most valuable to



them. It is the duty of every republican to expose these contradictions and inconsistencies of conduct and profession; and as far as possible, counteract the purposes they are intended to answer, namely, the prostration of the Republican party, the subversion of the real interests of the people, and the elevation of the old aristocracy, and the disappointed uneasy men of all parties."

It may be well to add, that the same General Jackson, who is now the *exclusively* Republican candidate, is the gentleman who advised Mr. Monroe to neglect old party distinctions, and to appoint Colonel Drayton, a decided federalist, Secretary of war.

We have dwelt long enough on the merits of this system to show you the sincerity and value of all the pratings and cantings about the "Republican Party," which crowd the columns of our Jackson papers, and make them so nauseous to men of sense and candor. Such men will need better evidence than these papers furnish to certify themselves of General Jackson's Republicanism; nor will they look into these papers, conducted, as their columns amply testify, on a system of unprincipled expediency, for the political character of Mr. Adams. They prefer to form their opinions of this character, by looking at the life itself of Mr. Adams, and by examining those evidences of his republicanism, which satisfied the scrutiny of Washington, Jefferson, Madison and Monroe, when they successively called him to render signal services to the Republic.

On you, fellow citizens, who do not fall in either class of the electors we have described;—who are capable of looking at General Jackson himself through all the glare which his military achievements have spread around him,—and who will not permit any party to shackle your independence and control your votes: on you it depends whether the State of New York shall contribute to re-elect the accomplished statesman, who now presides over the nation, or to displace him by a military chieftain. On you does it depend in no small degree, whether the blessings that flow from the present administration; from its fostering care of the institutions of religion and learning; of the great sources of national wealth and prosperity; of all the objects in short, which stand in prominent connexion with the public good: on you does it much depend, whether these blessings shall be prolonged to us, or whether they shall be surrendered for the uncertain fruits of a policy of government suited to the taste and spirit of Andrew Jackson. These blessings are



great ; and if we suffer prudence to counsel us, we shall not consent to put them to hazard for the most flattering change,—least of all for any advantages that could accrue to the Republic from the Presidency of General Jackson, after all the terrific earnestness he has afforded of the temper, in which he would exercise its powers.

Fellow Citizens, the present unsettled state of the world, if it afford hope to the cause of liberty, yet is it also full of peril to it. It is no time now to be making experiments in this holy cause : but most emphatically the time “ to stand in the ways, to see and ask for the old paths ; where is the good old way,” in which our fathers and ourselves have found safety. If the people of this country, which is the happiest, by far, that the sun ever shone upon ; if they are so wearied with the sameness of their prosperity, and so cloyed by its fulness, as to insist on a change ; if, moreover, that change must be nothing short of leavening our councils with a military spirit, and communicating its irregular and uncontrollable impulses to our free institutions : let them at least delay this gratification, until less hazard shall attend its indulgence. To demand it now might be at nothing less than the immediate price of freedom. An unsuccessful experiment, that we should make in the cause of liberty, at this juncture, a single calamity, that she should now suffer at the hands of her chosen protectors, might be the signal to her enemies to complete her destruction. And let not the friends of liberty presume too far upon their strength. They are not yet so numerous that they may be careless with impunity and adventurous without danger. Contrasted with the myriads that despots can muster against us, we are still a little band ; and to what portions of the earth do we raise our hopes for accessions ? Freedom does yet, indeed, hold out her struggles for existence in Greece : but have not the many hopeful risings of her spirit in other parts of Continental Europe, all sunk under the leaden sway of despotism ? Do we look to the southern half of our own hemisphere for her better prospects ? They are blighted there too. The valleys there, that but so lately rung with her cheerful voice, and the mountains, that echoed the songs of her triumphs, resound now with the murmurings of her unquietness and the shriekings of her despair.

Our own happy country still remains the only home of Freedom. If she is assailed here, we are her only protectors. If she is betrayed here, she is lost to the whole world.

May the Good Being who conducted her to our shores from universal persecution, teach us how to cherish and preserve her ; and to Him may we look to protect her from the dangers of that frenzied military spirit to which she has so often fallen a victim ; and the raging contagion of which now threatens to kindle her funeral pile ; even in her last abode ; in this chosen land of her asylum.

*End of the Report.*

## STATE CONVENTION.

The following are the names of the Delegates—with the counties in alphabetical order which they represented—which composed the Convention ;

## ALBANY.

|                  |  |                    |
|------------------|--|--------------------|
| Elisha Dorr,     |  | Robert Dunbar, Jr. |
| Ambrose Spencer, |  |                    |

## ALLEGANY.

|                |  |  |
|----------------|--|--|
| Philip Church. |  |  |
|----------------|--|--|

## CATTARAUGUS.

|                 |  |  |
|-----------------|--|--|
| Augustus Crary. |  |  |
|-----------------|--|--|

## CAYUGA.

|                   |  |                   |
|-------------------|--|-------------------|
| Ebenezer Hoskins, |  | P. R. Gorton,     |
| Abner Hollister,  |  | Elias Manchester. |

## CHATAUQUE.

|              |  |                     |
|--------------|--|---------------------|
| Alvin Plumb, |  | Daniel W. Douglass. |
|--------------|--|---------------------|

## CLINTON.

|               |  |  |
|---------------|--|--|
| Luther Hagar. |  |  |
|---------------|--|--|

## COLUMBIA.

|                          |  |                  |
|--------------------------|--|------------------|
| Alexander Coffin,        |  | Jacob I. Curtis. |
| Jacob R. Van Rensselaer, |  |                  |

## COURTLANDT.

|                |  |                   |
|----------------|--|-------------------|
| Chauncy Keith, |  | Daniel M. Wakely. |
|----------------|--|-------------------|

## DUTCHESS.

|                      |  |                   |
|----------------------|--|-------------------|
| Edmund H. Pendleton, |  | Abraham G. Storm, |
| Daniel C. Verplanck, |  | George W. Slocum. |

## ERIE.

|               |  |                    |
|---------------|--|--------------------|
| Absalom Bull, |  | W. S. Littlefield. |
|---------------|--|--------------------|

## ESSEX.

Luther Adgate.

## FRANKLIN.

James Campbell.

## GENESEE.

James Brisban,  
Amos Tyrell, Jr.

Alvin P. Baily.

## GREENE.

Jacob Haight.

## LEWIS.

William King.

## LIVINGSTON.

Charles H. Carroll,

Ambrose Bennett.

## MADISON.

Samuel Goodwin,  
Joseph Bruce,

Gerrit Smith.

## MONROE.

John P. Pattison,  
James K. Guernsey,

T. H. Rochester.

## MONTGOMERY.

James Sumner,  
J. S. Shuler,

Archibald M'Intyre.

## NEW YORK.

Peter Sharpe,  
Ellis Potter,  
Richard S. Williams,  
Timothy Hedges,  
James Lynch,  
Nath. J. Boyd,George Zabriskie,  
Peter H. Schenck,  
Samuel S. Conant,  
Caleb L. Smyth,  
Samuel B. Romaine.

## ONEIDA.

Jacob Sherrill,  
Fortune C. White,  
Austin Mygatte.Kellogg Hurlburt  
William Hubbard.



ONTARIO.

Micah Brooks,  
Wm. Hildreth,

| Robert C. Nicholas.

ORANGE.

David Chrystie,  
Nathaniel Dubois,

| Thomas Thorn.

ORLEANS.

Wm. Penniman.

OSWEGO.

James Cochran.

OTSEGO.

Edward B. Crandall,  
David Tripp,

| Cyrus Steere,  
James S. Campbell.

QUEENS.

John A. King.

RENSSELAER.

Joseph Case,  
Samuel Vary,

| John Breese,  
Thomas Clowes.

RICHMOND.

James Guyon.

ROCKLAND.

Thomas C. Smyth.

SARATOGA.

Salmon Child,  
Manley Amsden,

| R. M. Livingston.

ST. LAWRENCE.

Nicoll Fosdick,

| Bela Welles.

SCHOHARIE.

John Gebhard,

— Samuel Bortle.

## SCHENECTADY.

Eliud L. Davis.

## STEUBEN.

Reuben Robie,

| Daniel G. Skinner.

## SENECA.

Robert S. Rose,

| Daniel Scott.

## SUFFOLK.

Abraham S. Rose,

| G. Miller.

## SULLIVAN.

Cornelius Wood.

## TOMPKINS.

Charles H. Morrell,  
Ebenezer Vickery,

| Wm. R. Collins.

## ULSTER.

Cornelius E. Wynkoop,

| Peter G. Sharp.

## WASHINGTON.

John M'Lean, Jr.  
Simon De Ridder,

| Jedediah Darrow.

## WAYNE.

John M. Holley,

| David White.

## WESTCHESTER.

Ebenezer White,  
Thomas Smyth,

| John Townsend.

## YATES.

John N. Rose.

The total number of Delegates in attendance was *one hundred and five*. It will be remarked, that from eleven counties no delegates were present. We are happy to say, however, that *in all those counties except three*—if we have been correctly informed—delegates were appointed.







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